

Not Just a Waltzed Matilda A Study of Migration and Culture: Greek Women in South Australia, Post-World War II to the Present¹

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WALTZING MATILDA

The folk song *Waltzing Matilda* is a symbol of the Australian identity. *Matilda* is a colloquial word for swag; she is the baggage of a man. Greek women are not simply the carried possessions of their "migrant husbands". Moreover, their presence in Australia enriches the Australian cultural identity.

In the literature concerning the migration of Greek women to Australia, they are often described as the dependents of Greek migrants, if indeed they are mentioned at all. Little study has been done on these women as Greek migrants in their own right. Most frequently comments describe their role as "... Greek females immigrat[ing] specifically to marry male sponsors" (Tsounis, 1963: 43), and coming "as dependents, as wives, sisters or fiancées" (Kunek & Houpis, 1988: 10-11).

Such statements are supported by statistical data. However, there is much to be examined beyond the raw data collated by the Bureau of Statistics and/or other data collection services. Statistics do not reveal what factors influenced a migrant's decision to come to Australia. That is, the statistics show *who* came, but not *why* they came.

This paper examines the history of post-war female migration from Greece, with specific reference to South Australia, and analyses the stereotype of Greek women as *wives* of Greek migrants. This includes factors influencing migration, the *Migration Act* (1958), and cultural and feminist aspects.

Predominant views (as interpreted from a western perspective) of the role of women in Greek society describe Greek women as the housebound primary carer of the children, and subservient to the husband; the quintessential image of female passivity (Dounis, 1993: 117). Such assumptions perhaps explain why there has been minimal research into the migration of Greek women; their presence in Australia was decided for them, and therefore not in need of further investigation. As Morokvasic stated, the image of the Greek woman as migrant

¹ This paper is a condensed form of my Honours Thesis of the same title.

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wife makes her the "accessory of a process [she is] not really taking part in" (Morokvasic, 1983: 15).

Moreover, whether or not the migrant woman studied fits the stereotype, there is scope for research into any changes in her function after having moved from one society to another, and following on from this, to investigate which values and social customs these women impart to their Australian-born daughters. Greek women are not merely the baggage of "Greek Migrants", but have themselves contributed to the history of Greek migration to Australia in their own right.

Migration history has been criticised for neglecting to study adequately the migration of women. Much of the literature is accused of treating migrant women as invisible; or at best, studying migrant women through a Marxist-capitalist paradigm which focuses mainly on their role as workers in the cash economy. The very nature of the paradigm presupposes western-style economic and social structures, thus overlooking subtle cultural differences. This, in turn, mistakenly leads to the assumption that Greek women are, indeed, passive servants in an essentially patriarchal society.

It is prudent to note another complexity in studying the migration of Greek women: that is, the regional variations within Greece itself. Anthropological case studies carried out in Greece during the 1950s and 1960s indicated that the political, social and economic structures of Greek society were different from those of the "west" and that subtle complexities existed between the interaction of men and women. For example, Friedl described gender roles as complementary: men have formal power, exercised through institutionalised structures; whilst women have informal power, based within the household (Bottomley, 1984: 102). While such an observation holds true for various parts of Greece, it is not accurate to say that this is always the case. At the time these anthropological studies were written, they were not applicable to parts of Greece, most notably the burgeoning urban centres (Hearst, 1985: 21, 141). The studies are based on anthropological observations now several decades old. To assume that the structures still exist exactly as once described, is to assume that Greek culture is static. This is not to say that these studies are no longer relevant, but that they need to be put into their proper context.

In Martin's study of Greek-Australian couples it was observed that men act in an official capacity, dealing with bureaucracies and the like. It was observed that women are more likely to act outside institutional norms, or to challenge the institutions themselves. The incidences of women acting outside institutionalised structures could perhaps be explained by Friedl's observation of formal and informal power, through the separation of public and private spheres. Thus, the social structures she described continue to be relevant in relation to the status of women, although not continuing to be *literally* relevant (Martin, 1981: 74).

Redefining culture is often neglected due to academic practicalities. Issues such as time limits, it being "not my field of expertise" and the like, explain why outdated research is repeatedly used. Cultural changes (and indeed, variations) are ignored or go unnoticed, but for convenience, are still used as a point of reference. For example, in her study of rural and urban mothers in Greece, *for the sake of time and money*, Doumanis draws on Campbell's anthropological research of Sarakatsani shepherds done in the mid-1950s. By using the study of 1950, notable changes occurring *at that time and since* may be overlooked (Doumanis, 1983: 24, 35). By having such reports deeply entrenched in the literature, they gain prominence and become "fact". Thus the cultural stereotype is developed. In relation to migrant women, Morokvasic cited the "lack of a comparative approach and the absence of reference to [their] background" (Morokvasic, 1983: 20).

The accuracy of the initial studies should also be examined and put into their context, from the point of view of other historical events influencing the culture at that particular time, and also influencing the views of the scholar who wrote it. This includes things such as political affiliations and, indeed, one's gender (Carr, 1961). There is a certain "orientalist" perspective within feminist debates (Bottomley, 1992: 115). That is, the Greek women's lack of power is based on a western perspective of their experiences, rather than their actual experiences; it is a "western" description of Greek "traditional" culture.

This necessitates a re-evaluation of power structures as seen through the dominant "western" structures. Within the western patriarchal structure, women are empowered and protected through formal institutions: by their enfranchisement, and legal rights and obligations set down in legislation:

By implication Anglo-Australian women are already treated decently, and thus Anglo-Australian family practices are exempt from detailed scrutiny ... They are considered to be part of "society" rather than "tradition" (Martin, 1991: 122).

As stated, existing studies remain unquestioningly the norm. The perception of women's place in Greek culture, as studied in the mid-1950s is therefore upheld when studying women of Greek origin who live in Australia. The culture and tradition of the 1950s has thus become the "Greek culture", apparently devoid of change. The persistence of the stereotype does not allow Greek culture to develop, or alternatively, considers it incapable of development.

Before answering Cox's question, "Is there such a thing as a Greek-Australian identity?" (Cox, 1974: 22) a Greek, (and indeed, an Australian), identity must first be described. The pre-definition of "Greek culture" is not only dominated by

pragmatism (as illustrated in the case of Doumanis), but also by the complexity of the notion of "culture" itself (Bottomley, 1991: 99):²

... When dealing with peoples with a tradition of a Diaspora, the question of identity becomes more complex for neither the nation state in which these people find themselves nor the nation state of origin can become the absolute point of reference for identity formation (Bellou, 1993: 226).

To some extent, Greek Australia appears to have "frozen" itself, while comparable customs in Greece are changing. As most of the Greek migrants were young they have dim memories of "how they were back in Greece" (Vondra, 1979: 21), and they preserved comforting reminders of home: food, festivals, and togetherness. These are highlighted by Greek-Australians as the "tradition" (Cox, 1974: 21). Ironically, it is the Greeks outside of Greece who are perpetuating the perception of "Greek culture" as traditional, stagnant and unchanged. As stated by Cox, the Australian Greeks appear "more Greek than the Greeks in Greece" (Cox, 1974: 22).

However, the daughters of Greek migrant women are to some extent resisting their parents, and "modernising" as will be detailed in the case study of Greek women in South Australia. During my interviews they often stated that, "I don't know if I fit the stereotype/image of a Greek". This not only highlights the power of a stereotype (as Greek-Australians themselves, they believed that the stereotypical Greek person existed somewhere, but that they were not "one of them") but is also an indication of the shortfall of the stereotype. By its very nature, it is an over-generalisation. Although almost all described themselves as Greek-Australian, they did not see themselves as necessarily possessing the "typical" characteristics of the "Greek-Australian". They saw themselves as freer and more modern than the stereotype: as breaking away from "tradition".

The "second generation"³ in fact, parallel the Greek women in Greece. Greece itself has undergone changes in legal codes, giving women legal equality. Policy changes under the PASOK government in 1981 include: free, legal abortion; equality in the workplace; the abolition of the dowry; legalised civil marriages;

² Bottomley cites a report by Srintzos in which the theory and practice of contemporary Greek culture is explored via investigation, rather than assumptions based on existing research. In order to gain a more accurate concept of what the Greek-Australian identity is, rather than what it is perceived to be, more reports of this nature are needed.

³ Wherever the "second generation" is mentioned, it is referring to the off-spring of Greek migrants; and more particularly in this paper, the daughters of Greek women who have migrated to South Australia.

and equal spousal responsibility for the home (Bottomley, 1992: 115). Thus, put into the context of contemporary Greece, the second generation are perhaps "more Greek" than their parents. Thus a paradox is created: which one is "Greek culture": the Greek culture kept by migrants from Greece, the contemporary Greek identity, or perhaps both? The former is actually *perceived* as being the "Greek culture" as it encompasses "traditions" described in the case studies done by Friedl et al., and is continually validated in current studies.

Moreover, generalisations and stereotypes regarding the role and status of Greek women were formalised in Australia via immigration policy in the immediate post-war era. The idea of women being passive dependents was self-perpetuating: it was assumed they did not have any power, and this assumption was reinforced through legislation. The stereotype of Greek women had become "fact".

Gross generalisations and assumptions regarding the role of women in Greece, which is prominent in early migration policy, affected the type of women who came to Australia, and under what circumstances they were eligible for entry. Thus, while it may be true that most women came as wives and other dependents, such a categorisation of women was heavily influenced by the *Migration Act* itself.

Two explanations for the nature of post-World War II immigration policy are commonly cited. First, the Japanese threat during World War II led to the fear that Australia was dangerously underpopulated and needed to protect itself from its northern neighbours. Second, and quite literally, *manpower* was needed to *build* Australia during the post-war boom period. Migrants were needed for the defence of the country and to perform labouring tasks. A bipartisan consensual approach with regard to migration policy ensued (Roach, 1952: 102; Kunz, 1977: 39; Jupp, 1992: 141). It was not a coincidence that most Greeks entering Australia during this period were young, single men. Australian policy dictated this trend. In 1951 the Prime Minister stated that policy regarding family recruitment must change to suit prevailing economic conditions, which resulted in the recruitment of workers (unaccompanied by their dependents) (Craig, 1953: 64). The *Migration Act 1958* consolidated the assumption that the migrant was male, and the female was his possession:

The following examples of persons may be considered for entry for settlement, *accompanied by their wives and children ...* (my italics) (Commonwealth Bureau of Statistics, 1968: 165)

Throughout the period between the end of the war and the 1970s, women were consistently marginalised as the wife and mother, dependent on the "breadwinner who was male by definition" (Fincher, 1994: 3, 6).

During the period 1953-1956, the ratio of Greek males to females was 5:1 (Sherrington, 1990: 142). Correcting the disparities between the sexes became the focus of immigration policy. The government began to seek out Greek women of marriageable age. This policy was openly encouraged by the Greek government due to persisting unemployment and underemployment within Greece. Vocational training courses were set up in Athens to provide Greek females with basic skills in the domestic labour work force and the textile manufacture industry (Alexandraki, 1981: 228-29; Immigration Advisory Council, 1969: 23). While this policy gave women the opportunity to migrate to Australia, the central theme of the policy was not to create equal migrational rights for men and women; rather its aim was to encourage potential *wives* to come to Australia. Its objective was to promote the settlement of potential family units, with the view that this would contribute to population growth (Foster & Stockley, 1984: 28). The recession in 1953 meant that the Australian government could not fulfill its promise of guaranteed jobs. The selection criteria were altered to authorise the entry of "dependents" of existing migrants, rather than additional "breadwinners" (Kunz, 1988: 105; Appleyard, 1971: 211). However, as Appleyard stated, married immigrant women were more likely to be participants in the work force than their average Australian counterpart (Appleyard, 1971: 218). This highlights the problem of assuming that Greek culture can be juxtaposed with Australian culture. It was assumed that Greek women would stay at home once married, as it was the "tradition" of the Australian women at that time.

Neither the *Migration Act* nor statistics explain personal reasons for migration. To what extent do Greek women follow Greek men to Australia? Beyond the statistical "fact" that "proves" women follow the men, the female function in the migration process is not explained. Statistics do not answer questions such as whose decision it was to migrate. It is assumed, that as the man (usually) arrives first, it was his decision and once this decision was made, the woman was expected to (and did) follow (Tsounis, 1975: 24; Giannopoulos, 1979: 82; Botsas: 29-30). Both external and personal factors influence the process of migration. External motivations include the political and socio-economic climate in the country of departure; personal factors are the individual choices made (Morokvasic, 1983: 24). Bottomley states that many migrants were forced to leave Greece due to economic or political circumstances (Bottomley, 1979: 12).

Greece was considered economically backward compared to standards set by the European Economic Community (EEC) (Slaughter & Kasimis, 1989: 126). Its balance of payments deficit was a pressing issue for the Greek government

and foreign interests alike. The economy was heavily reliant on foreign investment and capital. Foreign interventionists were accused of not encouraging the development of an economic system which would lead to self-sufficiency. Instead, most funding was directed towards defence expenditure or distributed to industries, whose profits were relocated outside the State. Due to this massive flight of capital, infrastructure, education and health systems deteriorated further. However, some areas benefited due to their geo-political significance. Infrastructure was improved in the northern parts of Greece, where the left-wing Democratic Army was positioned, and the metropolitan centres of Athens and Thessaloniki also benefited. Policies regarding the improvement of public works were based on political and strategic imperatives, rather than economic developments (Merlopoulos, 1967: 42; Kofas, 1990: 55, 58, 60). For example, some areas of Greece, such as the east of Thessaly and Athens, were more advanced than most of the Peloponnese and various islands. The prevailing government policy fated these latter regions to underdevelopment. Any major decisions regarding expenditure were made by the American Mission for Aid in Greece (AMAG), and not the Greek government (Kofas, 1990: 73-75). Thus economic development remained geographically uneven. It was becoming increasingly difficult to sustain a livelihood in particular regions. By the mid-1950s industrial and agricultural levels were still below pre-war levels. Financial mismanagement, coupled with the inability to direct public funds without foreign intervention, had led to unemployment and underemployment (Kofas, 1990: 80, 82). During the 1960s unemployment in Athens reached 10%. Likewise, unemployment was particularly high in the rural areas, as one-quarter of the population actually resided there. From 1961, migration to Germany increased in an attempt to alleviate this problem (Kofas, 1989: 72; Appleyard & Amera, 1965: 6; Slaughter & Kasimis, 1989: 128).

The economic problems in Greece were exacerbated by the tumultuous political climate. Despite the basically Right-wing ideology of all parties, parliament was extremely unsettled during the post-World War II period. The succession of ineffectual governments ended forcibly in 1967 with the *coup d'état* (Mouzelis, 1978: 116-17). The distinctly Right-wing bias in the political arena created tension and insecurity for citizens who affiliated with the EAM and ELAS during the Civil War. Under the Junta, persecutions against these people were more haphazard. The Junta replaced a large number of public servants and advisers with its own supporters. Furthermore, officials who were not ousted were scrutinised as to their political persuasion. By 1968, 900 civil servants were dismissed under the guise of disloyalty towards the State. Under conditions of such political tension, the bureaucratic services and public works were hindered further. Moreover, the Junta successfully repressed strikes and protests against

Greece's increasingly unmanageable foreign capital expenditure (Campbell & Sherrard, 1968: 249, 289-90; Mouzelis, 1978: 129).

The political and economic conditions prevailing in Greece do not fully explain the migratory process. Distinctively individual reasons also influenced the decision to migrate. These include the desire for better schooling opportunities, or simply the attraction of an "adventure" (Botsas: 50). Given these factors influencing migration, the character of the Greek migrant is ascertainable. That is, people of a certain social and economic standing were more likely to migrate than others. For example, the migrant may have been a farmer no longer content with his level of subsistence; or a woman seeking to better her job prospects through obtaining a dress-making apprenticeship. Both were looking to improve their standard of living and "to share in ... the benefits of mass consumption, entertainment, and the comfort of developed areas (Vassilis, 1967: 21). People who have been able to achieve their goals are less inclined to migrate; rather, it is the people who feel disadvantaged by their surroundings, and who *recognise* that no opportunity exists for them in their current environment, who are most likely to migrate (Baxevis, 1972: 53-56). For example, in the Peloponnese, the system of inheritance continued to fragment the already small plots. The number of sons seeking to inherit land, coupled with the imposition of a land dowry for daughters, created further fragmentation of this land. While in some instances a father's overarching control may have hindered some people from migrating, for others, it was encouraged by the household head as a way to relieve the economic burden. Thus, the children were not held down by "traditional" social mores in which the patriarch dominated the family (Baxevis, 1972: 66-67). Freedom from social restraint was a crucial component in migration. Another important feature of the migration process, is the awareness that an opportunity to migrate exists. Often information was received from family members and kin already abroad (Kenna, 1977: 14).

During the periods 1957-1959, 1961 and 1962, female migration to Australia exceeded male migration (Botsas: 26). Moreover, Appleyard revealed that women were more likely to nominate other persons for migration to Australia (Appleyard, 1968: 3). Despite such findings, women have only received a limited mention in previous studies of Greek migration. This lack of attention is usually rationalised because "they are the wives of migrants", rather than migrants in their own right (Ware & Lucas, 1995: 182).

In South Australia, the manufacturing industry attracted a large number of migrants. However, the recession in 1961-1962 highlighted the economic vulnerability of the manufacturing industry, and migration to South Australia slowed. High unemployment persisted until 1967. The expansion of industry

stimulated job opportunities in domestic appliance manufacturing as well as at the General Motors Holden factory located in Woodville (Blewitt & Jaensch, 1971: 6, 64). For the years 1954-1961, the South Australian statistics reveal that involvement in the manufacturing industry consistently contains a high percentage of Greek women in the work force. The South Australian figures are congruous with Australia-wide figures (Victorian Ethnic Affairs Commission, 1988: 249). Other areas containing a high concentration of Greek women are the self-employed categories. However, the classification of women not in the work force contains the highest concentration of women. Although the figure dropped by over 10 per cent in the inter-censal period these figures were still high (Whitehead, 1996: XV, XVI). There is minimal involvement in professional, semi-professional and administrative employment (under one per cent for both census periods) (Whitehead, 1996: XV). This does not correlate with the number of qualified women who left Greece in the same period. Official statistics from Greece reveal the percentage of qualified women leaving Greece ranges from 22-34 per cent (Whitehead, 1996: VI, XV-XVI). There are two possible interpretations for the disparity. Either professional women from Greece do not come to Australia (the Australia-wide statistics are comparable with South Australia) (Whitehead, 1996: XVI; Wood, 1986: 71); or they are unable to take qualified positions in South Australia due to a non-recognition of qualifications, or are restricted because of minimal English language skills. In relation to the former, the statistics reveal the percentage of Greek-born women who left school aged 16 or under was just over 70 per cent (Lennon, Spratt & Gatton, 1994: 23). Thus, there are grounds to surmise that only a small percentage of qualified women entered Australia.

It is often quoted in the literature that women, if not already married, migrated primarily to find a husband. The highest percentage of Greek women arriving in South Australia between 1954 and 1971, were between the ages of 25 and 34. Over the same period, the median percentage for married women was over 75 per cent, and for single women, the percentage was almost 16 per cent. These figures do not correlate with statistics of women departing Greece; the percentages for married and single women were just over and under 50% respectively (Whitehead, 1996: V, X-XII). These figures indicate that while a large number of women who depart Greece are single, they will marry shortly after their arrival in South Australia. However, given that these single women are of marriageable age, this is not a particularly unusual statistic. That is, the fact that they marry upon their arrival in South Australia could be as a matter of course rather than a deliberate aim. Thus, these figures are not conclusive, but remain a crude indication of the possible reason for migration. More research in this area is needed to verify or refute these suppositions as there are varied reasons for migrating to Australia.

Moreover, given the above outline of causal factors leading to migration, "to seek out a husband" does not, on its own, constitute a reason for migration.

For second-generation Greek women most literature is focused on education; its difficulties and achievements. The second generation are more likely to continue their education through to tertiary level (Ware & Lucas, 1995: 182). Statistics compiled in 1981 reveal that just over 76 per cent of the second generation stayed at school until 15-18 years old, compared to just over 31 per cent of the first generation. Moreover, approximately 53 per cent of the first generation left school under the age of 15, while only eight and a half per cent of the second generation did so (Whitehead, 1996: XIX). The proportion of second-generation females who had completed post-secondary qualifications was higher than their male counterparts and also higher than Australia-born females (Bureau of Immigration & Population Research, 1994: 42). For the Greek migrants, the educational achievements of their children are their greatest aim. The success of their children is considered the parent's responsibility. Eva Isaacs observed that this was often done with great economic sacrifice (Appleyard & Amera, 1986: 226). This could also be an indication of their desire for their children to obtain an education, which had been denied them by the interruption of war, poorly resourced schools, or the inability to travel to urban centres due to the costs involved.

With the second generation increasingly becoming parents, a "traditional" family pattern is developing in Australia. That is, as mothers they continue to work, and their own mothers or mothers-in-law look after the grandchildren. This cultural pattern was not usually available to the migrants themselves, as rarely did older kin travel with them to Australia (Smolicz, 1988: 151).

Case study

Interviews were conducted to acquire information which is not available in either statistical matter, or the general literature on migration. The migrant women interviewed arrived in Australia between 1953 and 1968. The regions of departure included Athens, Zakynthos, the Peloponnese, Thessaly and Cyprus. Of these women, two were 13 years old and travelling with their family; six were single (most were 18 to 20 years old); one was engaged to a man in Australia; and the remaining three were married.

Three women match the stereotype of wives and fiancées of migrants: two of the married women and the fiancée. For the remaining married woman, it was her idea to migrate:

It was a new place, and I had no idea where it was, I was a child and thought it sounded wonderful: for two years to work somewhere else, a

free trip already paid for. It was very exciting to come to a place and have someone else pay for it, we were just children and had no idea.

Most of the single women who migrated to Australia were nominated by relatives in Australia. The empirical data also supports research done by Appleyard, that women are more likely to nominate other recipients. Three of the respondents nominated other family members after their arrival in Australia; and the mother of one of the younger respondents nominated family members. Another four respondents were nominated by sisters who were already in Australia. Moreover, one woman explained:

My oldest sister was married in Greece. She had two children and she came to Australia with her husband. She was the first one from my family to leave Greece and come to Australia. Her husband was a fisherman. He was away for half the year, leaving my sister alone and single with two kids. So when the road opened for Australia, she decided to come. They left all the things in the home, everything there, and came to Australia.

This highlights two points. First, that although the sister was married, this was not the reason for her arrival in Australia. It was, in fact, her idea to come, not her husband's. Secondly, an important element of the migrational process is revealed; that an offer of migration has to be made. The same respondent continued:

I just came here for a holiday, believe it or not! I came here with another sister, and we said we'll only stay one or two years, that's all. That's what I told my father, but unfortunately, I never saw him again ... I ended up marrying here and started a different life, but I didn't know I was going to marry out here in Australia.

This refutes the often quoted statements, that single women came to Australia for the express purpose of finding a husband. While all of the single women were married within one year of their arrival, I would argue that given their age, this is not an unusual phenomenon. Indeed, the most often cited reason for migration to Australia was the dire economic situation in Greece at the time of departure. Again, this illustrates one of the factors influencing migration: the experience of structural stress, which in this instance was economic hardship. For example, one respondent was orphaned at a young age. Her sister was separated from her while she remained with her brother in the care of relatives. However, life was extremely difficult, the work was hard and their host family was not particularly benevolent:

My brother and I made plans to come to Australia. Then I made plans to take my sister from the orphanage and I organised the papers to come here. The day I received the papers to go to the school in Patras (ICEM), I received the papers to take my sister from the orphanage ... At that time Australia was very popular, all the girls wanted to come. They had a choice of here or America.

Furthermore, this particular respondent did not marry a Greek migrant in Australia. On a six month return visit to Greece, she met her husband-to-be, and he came to Australia with her after their marriage.

Most of the respondents came to Australia to seek employment. Apart from one woman who is a teacher, all other respondents obtained employment in either the manufacturing industry or the domestic labour force, or they were self-employed. This is supported by the statistics which showed that the highest percentage of Greek women in the work force in South Australia were employed in industry or self-employed. This correlates to their proficiency in English as well as the degree of education each of these women received while in Greece. Only one respondent had attained a secondary level of education (three years). Most of them completed their primary schooling. However, three of the women did not. For two of them, World War II disrupted their schooling, while the third woman cited economic necessity for leaving school.

Cultural changes in Australia are more difficult to identify from the information gathered. When asked to comment on any differences, most women explained it in terms of maturity and responsibility. In Greece they were young and single, and in some instances did not work. Their arrival in Australia marked the beginning of their adulthood. They began working, married and had a family. The following excerpts are from one interview:

Some afternoons my girlfriends and I would walk along the beach near the open space coffee shops. The young boys and girls just walked and looked at each other and flirted ...

... But I was just a young girl when I left, I didn't take any notice of life so to compare it - I have lived longer here in this country, so I have not really lived a life to the full there to compare it.

The women who had worked in Greece noted similarities to work in Australia. The work in Greece was hard and consequently there was little time for leisure activities. Similarly, there was little money for such trivial pursuits. The situation did not alter dramatically in the early years in Australia:

You see, there wasn't much money, even here in Australia. The houses were very expensive; the food was very expensive in those days, we rarely bought extras, like salads. If you wanted to have a house of your own, and you wanted your children to have the best education, so they would not have to work in a factory - you had to work extra hard so they could have a better life than you.

Another respondent stated:

There were no differences ... You still had to cook and clean, wash and iron. The only difference was that in Greece they didn't have the water in the house, there was no electricity where I came from ... it was the same jobs, only it was a little bit harder there and easier here.

Certain Greek customs were carried with them and are still observed, such as name days, religious festivals, dancing and music. Moreover, the Greek language is an extremely important part of their culture. When asked about the importance of her culture, one respondent replied that it was good to enjoy the food and the dancing, but not to insist on customs which upset other people. Another identified it as important: "the folkloric traditional things make your life ... I think it is nice to know your roots, the culture ... it makes you more full". In particular, most respondents thought that this was important for their daughters, as well as for themselves: "every mother and father wants to teach their children where they came from". Another respondent felt it was important, especially the language, as she could not speak English; it was essential for her to be able to communicate with her children. Thus the retention of culture, albeit at varying degrees, was regarded as important for their daughters' upbringing.

As most of the prevailing literature on the second generation focuses on education and occupation levels attained, this case study does not concentrate on this factor; suffice it to say that the women interviewed matched the statistical data. Instead, I will highlight issues concerning the second generation in terms of tradition and their cultural identity.

One observation worth noting, is the strengthening of traditional familial ties. As mentioned previously, the Greek migrants had a limited capacity to draw on kin networks. Several respondents had to take jobs which suited their childcare arrangements. Of those who worked while still caring for young children, most were self-employed. Most of the factory workers took time off to care for their children, and once the children were of school age, chose jobs which corresponded to school hours. A substantial number of the daughters interviewed echoed their mother's comments regarding the importance of mothering, and being at home with the children:

I have a problem with childcare, which is strange from a feminist perspective, they would say your career, not necessarily comes first, but is particularly important, the whole feminist debate is moving back to choice, and choosing to be a mother ... this is what I like about Greek culture, the fact that your in-laws, or your mother, will look after the children for "x" hours while you work.

Although a decline in the incidence of arranged marriages has been noted in studies undertaken, the evidence would suggest that the mothers (and other family members) still play an influential role:

My husband's parents are from ----- as well. It's not a coincidence. I met him through someone I knew, through an aunt of mine. So I wouldn't put that down to coincidence - it's a tiny island!

Moreover, a substantial number of mothers stated that they would prefer their son-in-law to be of Greek origin. It was often commented on how much easier it is in terms of culture, customs, language and the like. However, the mothers also recognised that their daughters are moving away from such strict criteria: "I'd prefer him to be of Greek origin, but we're not going to win!"

When asked about their attendance at Greek cultural events, some of the daughters stated that the main purpose for attendance at these events (such as Glendi) was simply to catch up with people, rather than to "tap into" their culture. It was not deemed imperative for them to go, as the function of the festivals is seen as being an introduction to Greek culture for non-Greeks: "We have Glendis everyday in our backyard. If I want a souvlaki, my mum will make me one, why would I go to that?" However, another daughter wondered about the future of such events, and, similarly, the future of community clubs:

I think it is going to be a real slap in the face because it's going to come to a standstill once all the parents go. We're either going to say see you later to the whole thing; depending on your lifestyle, and if you have the time, you know, your priorities ... What will be here for our children? We're in that generation where it's up to us to continue it.

The Greek Orthodox Church was frequently criticised by the daughters. Most commented on their lack of interest being based on the political issues surrounding the Church schism. Although they still classified themselves as spiritual and Greek Orthodox, they did not necessarily affiliate with the church as an institution, "I find the gender segregation appalling and also the intolerance shown by the Greek Church to other members of the community; I find that offensive".

Moreover, their inability to speak fluent Greek was also mentioned as being a barrier between them and the Church:

When you go you don't understand it anyway, so that's why I don't like going to church. The priest at the Unley Church is good, he will say some of the services in English so you understand, but in other churches you just sit there.

One of the respondents has, in fact, changed her religion. This is a reflection on her "Australianness". This particular respondent has renounced almost all things "Greek". Although she sees herself as an Australian, she "[does] not deny her heritage and nor [does she] want to"; rather her heritage has had minimal influence in her life. The anomaly in this instance, is that she and her husband live with her parents, and her mother cares for her young daughter while she works. Despite her self-perception, the abovementioned characteristics are categorised as being heavily ensconced in Greek tradition. Again, this illustrates one of the difficulties in defining culture: one's own perception versus another's perception of you.

When asked how they described themselves, most daughters said they were Greek-Australian, but had differing interpretations as to what that meant. One respondent said she described herself as Greek-Australian, "because that's how other people see her". Another daughter commented that she objected to a particular reference being made to her heritage:

I call myself an Australian of Greek origin, rather than a Greek Australian because I want to be identified as an Australian citizen first and foremost; and also to acknowledge that I live in a multi-cultural society and that the Greekness isn't to predominate over the society in which I live.

Finally, it is interesting to note that one of the daughters actually identified as being an Australian Greek. Her initial visit to Greece was a "spiritual pilgrimage":

I loved it because I found a whole nation of crazy people just like me and I came back with oodles of confidence, I couldn't believe it! I loved it back then, Greece was relaxed and loud talking and "slap you on the back and come in stranger and have a cup of coffee" ... In Australia I always knew I was too noisy and that I seemed bigger than life, the way we talk and carry on, and you try to play that down when you are around Anglo-Saxons.

Hearst noted that a trip to Greece can be an important cultural event, leading to either a rejection or retention of the culture upon the return to Australia (Hearst, 1985: 133):

In Australia you're brought up thinking that Greeks are uneducated peasants from villages. When you go to Greece, it's totally different; they're educated and well spoken, and they look fantastic! That was an eye-opener, from then on I was proud to be Greek, it was confidence building. I got rid of my inferiority complex.

Anecdotal memoirs of Greek women are disseminated in books such as Janiszewski's and Alexakis', *Images of Home* (1995). Likewise, works such as *Who Do You Think You Are? Second Generation Immigrant Women in Australia* (Herne & Travaglia et.al, 1992) give impressionistic insights into the experiences of the second generation. However, the research report by Kunek and Houpis, *Women of the Mediterranean*, is one of few and recent official studies undertaken on the subject of migrant Greek women in Australia.

Herzfeld indicated the existence of excessive generalisations regarding Greek women, due to the continued prominence of earlier works (notably by Campbell and Friedl). Subsequent scholars have generally ignored the capacity for change within Greece, in terms of its culture and tradition (Bottomley, 1992: 109). This shortfall impacts on the study of migrant women in a twofold manner: migration history to Australia is male-focused, thus a substantial body of literature in the area of Greek migrant women is lacking; and where studies are undertaken, comparisons are drawn using relatively out-dated studies.

The Greek migrants entering Australia kept traditions distinctively Greek such as folk-dancing, food and music and the like in an effort to try to preserve the intimacy and familiarity of their background (Martin, 1971: 115). These can be safely labelled "Greek". However, familial customs and other social traditions are more difficult to assess. The regional variation within Greece at the time of migration was diverse and dynamic. Therefore, to emphasise the existing Greek stereotype is misleading. It assumes that Greek society was homogenous and unchanging. Furthermore, as Greek culture was redefining itself at the time studied (and indeed, is continually redefining itself), it is difficult to assess what aspects of the Greek-Australian are specifically Greek or Australian. This extends to the traditions changed or maintained by the second generation, and its influences on their own self-perception.

Cultural definitions are necessary for defining the Greek-Australian identity. Before creating the Greek-Australian, it is necessary to identify what is specifically Greek, and what is specifically Australian. The inability to recognise these complexities will continue to perpetuate the insular image of female migrants as "submissive wives and dependents".

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